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tralian tribe that was able to develop within the general Australian type of culture a number of distinct features, some of them unique, while at the same time lacking entirely other features which were widespread on the mainland. Tiwi isolation from the mainland explains the differences and the lacks; their favorable environment explains why they were able to develop certain traits along their own unique lines.²

The Tribe and the Bands

Because they were isolated and few outsiders came near them, they did very little as a united tribe. Everybody on the two islands was a Tiwi, and the Tiwi world stopped at the water's edge. Fuzziness on the edges of tribal territory—a chronic headache to anthropologists working with mainland tribes—did not exist, nor did the problem of marriage outside the tribe. All Tiwi, of course, spoke the same language and practiced the same customs and regarded themselves as *the* people; these were almost the only respects in which they could be said to do anything as a tribal unit. There was no tribal government, there were no tribal officials, and no occasions which required the whole tribe to assemble together as a collective entity. For daily and yearly living, the important group was the band or horde,² of which there were nine. The total area of the two islands is about 3000 square miles, but some of this is swampy, some of it waterless, some of it mosquito-infested mangrove jungle, and the suitability of the rest for native living varies a good deal. Hence, the actively used and lived-in areas for each band probably averaged about two hundred square miles each and, in any case, there was not a very close relationship between band size and area occupied. Details of band size at various times are given in a later chapter, but, typically, Tiwi bands probably varied in size between a hundred and three hundred people.

The band was the territorial group with which a man most closely identified himself. Though the band lived from day to day spread out over a wide area and a man might not see many of his fellow band-members for weeks at a time, the average Tiwi thought of the two or three hundred square miles of band territory as his "own country" and of his fellow members as his own people. This is why the tribal name—Tiwi—so seldom needed to be used at home on the islands. It did not identify one group as distinct from another, since all locals were Tiwi. Just as in a New York suburb one does not say that there are some Americans in the house next door, but may say that there are some Texans or some Californians or some people from Michigan next door, so a Tiwi, seeing a group of visitors arriving in his band territory, would immediately identify them as Malauala or Rangwila or by whatever band they belonged to. A father would say casually, "I have betrothed my daughter to a

² Radcliffe-Brown, the great authority on Australian tribal society, tried to introduce the word "horde" for the Australian local group, but probably because of its suggestion to the popular mind of a dense concentration of people, it has never become established and in these pages we have used the more neutral word "band."

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621 Tiklauila" or "My wife is a Munupula woman"; a mourner would say, "He
 619 died when visiting the Munupula and therefore we will have to go to Munupi
 for the funeral!"; an old man would reminisce about being brought up as a
 youth by his mother's brother, who was a Turupula, and the good times he
 had in Turupi; and another would recount details of big battles between the
 Munupula and the Malauila. All of these were band names or band territories.
 The nine bands thus acted, psychologically, as small tribelets or semisovereign
 groups, since it was with one of them that every Tiwi most closely identified
 in his day-to-day life on the islands. It is only when, as nowadays, he leaves
 the islands to go to work for the white man in Darwin that he has to think of
 himself as a Tiwi, since there he mingles with men of other tribes. Even then,
 [177] work and residence in the white man's town does not entirely obliterate band
 identification. A Tiklauila in Darwin prefers to work with and to consort
 in the evenings with other Tiklauila, and Malauila with Malauila.⁸

621 Because of certain peculiar features of Tiwi domestic life, to be dis-
 591 cussed below, it is difficult to sum up the Tiwi band in any simple formula.
 People, especially women, changed their band residence frequently in the course
 of their lives, and being born into a band did not at all require permanent
 residence with that band, either for males or for females. Thus the district
 (for example, Tiklaru or Malau) was a firm, fixed, known quantity, but the
 people who "owned" the district (for example, Tiklauila or Malauila) were
 a flexible and constantly shifting collection of individuals.

• 423 The territorial boundaries between bands were clear and well known
 621 to everybody, though they were not the sharp lines on a map such as we
 regard as essential for a frontier or a land boundary. All pieces of country—
 clumps of jungle, stretches of grassland, sections of thick woods—had names.
 One such piece of country, say a thickly wooded area, belonged to one band,
 while the more open country that began where the woods thinned out belonged
 to another; thus the boundary was not a sharp line but a transitional zone—
 [137] perhaps of several miles—where the change from trees to open savannah
 became noticeable, with the band territories thus fusing into one another rather
 [923] than being separated by sharp lines. The Tiwi, so to speak, thought of the
 landscape as a sort of spectrum where a man moved gradually out of one
 district into another as he passed from one type of horizon to the next. Since
 [133] rivers, and even Apsley Strait, a very narrow arm of the sea separating Mel-
 ville from Bathurst Island, usually have similar types of vegetation on both
 sides or banks, none of the island rivers nor Apsley Strait was a boundary or
 frontier between bands. The Mandiimbula, predominantly a Melville Island

⁸ In the early 1930's the situation at the Government Hospital in Darwin offered
 a good illustration of this. The hospital authorities said they gave preference for house-
 boy jobs to "Melville Islanders because of their greater intelligence and reliability." In
 point of fact, some of the younger Tiklauila had established a monopoly on hospital
 jobs and no Tiwi other than a Tiklauila was ever hired there. The whites thought they
 were hiring Tiwi but the Tiklauila saw to it that they hired only Tiklauila and felt no
 vestige of obligation to other Tiwi to help them get these desirable jobs. The alleged
 greater intelligence of the islanders was undoubtedly due to the fact that the Tiklauila,
 having had a Catholic mission in their territory since 1911, were more used to white
 requirements.

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tribe, owned also the country on the opposite side of Apsley Strait at the southeast corner of Bathurst, while the Malaulla, the band in the northern half of Bathurst Island, conversely overlapped their ownership across the strait to take in a thin strip of coastline on the northwest corner of Melville.

These details illustrate the fact that the band was the land-owning, workaday, territorially organized group which controlled the hunting, the food supply, and the warfare. Until the white man arrived in force in the coastal waters of North Australia, the average Tiwi regarded the nine bands as the main functional units of his existence, and his loyalty to and identification with his band were given much greater opportunity for exercise than any loyalty to or identification with the whole Tiwi tribe. He did many things as a member of a band, but he did little as a member of a tribe. Only when an outsider turned up did he need to think of himself as a Tiwi, and outsiders were very rare. For the rest of the time he thought of himself as a member of his band, thought of his band as his people, and of his band territory as his country.

The Household

Since the band consisted of anything from one hundred to three hundred people, it could not live together in one place, except for very short periods of time. Hunting and gathering in almost any part of the world (except the northwest coast of America in pre-white times) require the human population to disperse itself very thinly over the countryside and live from day to day in small hunting and camping units. Such small primary groups are usually in one sense families and in another sense households, and this is the case among the Tiwi. We propose to call such units households rather than families for reasons that will soon become apparent. It is true that Tiwi "houses," especially in the long dry season (from March to October), were the flimsiest and most temporary of structures, but the group of people in question was the group who lived together day after day, hunted as a unit, pooled the results of their food getting, and ate and slept together. Functionally this group is identical with an American household, even though the "house" they used was nothing more than a few piled-up tree branches, used as shelter for a night or two and then abandoned. Like the American household also, the Tiwi household usually consisted of a man, his wife (or wives), and their children, though in many would also be included a few leftovers or extras, common to all cultures, such as bachelor uncles, visiting cousins, ancient widowers, and ambiguous "men who came to dinner" and were still there. (Tiwi households did not, however, include maiden aunts, female orphans, or ancient widows, since these could not exist in Tiwi culture.)

Thus the Tiwi household was more or less the same thing as the Tiwi family group, but Tiwi family organization had such a number of unusual twists that we find it desirable to insist upon calling such a group the house-

531 decorate a burial pole; and others, Pl. 2D, Pl. 10C, and Pl. 11A, similar to those he would paint on the ceremonial baskets.

I did not see or hear of figures being made in bark (Mountford, 1956, p. 443, fig. 65C, D); moulded in wax (Elkin and the Berndts, 1950, Pl. 21, Mountford, 1956, Pl. 143) or in the sands of the sea-shore (Mountford, 1956, p. 404, Pl. 91C, D), as is done in north-eastern Arnhem Land. Nevertheless, the men did carve large burial poles in the form of human beings and smaller full-length figures, associated with the *pukamuni* ceremonies. These figures bore some small resemblance to those recorded from north-eastern Arnhem Land (Berndt, 1948, Figs. A, B, Pls. 1, 2; Mountford, 1956, Pls. 130-40).

3. TECHNIQUES

386 (a) COLOURS. The pigments used for the decoration of the burial poles and the production of the bark paintings, were red, yellow and white ochres. As there was no suitable black pigment on the islands, the artists used crushed charcoal in its place.

[317] The source of the best ochres is a pit at Imilu on Cape Van Diemen (Fig. 1). This ochre, called *imilu*, is a bright yellow when collected,⁷ but, when heated in the fire, it changes to a clear red. A soft white stone is common along the beaches. The ochres are not ground on a stone, as on the mainland (Mountford, 1956, p. 11), but, being friable, are crushed and mixed in a large cockle shell with water and fixative.

The aborigines often spoke of a superior ochre at Numanira, northern Melville Island (Fig. 1), which could be gathered only at low tide. I did not see any of this ochre in use.

(b) FIXATIVES. Three different types of fixative are used to ensure that the painted designs, both on the poles and the baskets, were as permanent as possible. They were: the sticky gelatinous sap of one of the tree orchids (*Dendrobium* sp.); the wax and honey of the wild bee, well mixed together; [237] and the yolks of the eggs of the sea-going turtle. The fixative was either mixed with the pigments or rubbed on the painting surface.

412 (c) BRUSHES. Simple brushes, made of strips of bark of varying widths, square across the bottom, chewed at one end, and held as in Fig. 2A and 2C, were used for the bulk of the work.⁸ For making the dots, however, the artists used a

● [423] ⁷ There did not appear to be any restriction on the gathering of this ochre; any aboriginal could go to Imilu and take as much as he wished.

[171] ⁸ The long flexible brush of the aborigines of Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 12, fig. 3), was not used at Melville Island, although the bark brush (Fig. 2A) was often held in a similar manner.

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The territory of the *Tiklanila* is roughly contained in the area in the south of Bathurst Island, south of Point Hurd and west of *Mukambrimo*, which is a river about eight miles to the west of the mission station. In this area, roughly about two hundred square miles, there are a number of districts with specific names. Anyone familiar with the Australian blackfellow knows how certain districts are given certain names, and although no native can tell the exact boundaries, everyone in the tribe knows when he has come into one of these districts and when he has left it. The principle of differentiation of these areas seems to be upon the basis of the physical aspect of the country, a valley for example having a distinct name from either set of hills surrounding it, a plain being distinguished from a thickly-wooded piece of bushland on its margin, and so on.

These districts play an important part in Tiwi land ownership. Certain districts are not owned by the horde as a whole, but by a single family of that horde. Thus in the horde we are considering, *Tayio*, the extensive district in the extreme south-western corner of the island around Cape Fouveroy, is owned by a single set of men, all of whom are the son's sons of *Mikidjimirla*, a man who as far as can be judged died about 1870-1880. The basis of their title is the fact that *Mikidjimirla* died and was buried in the district, hence all the game and fruit in *Tayio* belong to them, and cannot be hunted or collected by anyone else without their consent.

The question immediately arises as to whether the mere burial of a man in a district gives his heirs property rights in that district. The Tiwi answer is that it always does if the man was sufficiently important. The man in question here, *Mikidjimirla*, was from all accounts one who left a deep impression on the society of his time both by his personality and by his prowess in warfare. More than that he left his mark on following generations by the number of children he had. At the present time, there are nine men, all grandchildren of *Mikidjimirla*, in whom the hunting and fruit-collecting rights of *Tayio* are vested, and these men and their families normally camp in *Tayio* and deny the right of other *Tiklanila* families to hunt there. This group has a solidarity of its own which is expressed by a name *Tayanwila*, which is one of the alternative horde-names. It should be noted in this connection that the Tiwi name for father's father is *amini*, and the members of this group will frequently

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423 refer to one another as *gia yirt' amini* (my "one grandfather") in preference
 613 to *gi'iwini* (my brother), or *gia kalipini* (my half-brother), which is the
 601 normal term of address.

423 A member of another horde found trespassing upon the territory
 685 of the *Tiklanila* would be killed immediately unless he had been invited for
 609 a corroboree or some such festival. A member of the same horde who,
 621 not belonging to the *yirt' amini* group, trespasses in *Tajio* would not be put
 to death, but he and his relatives would become embroiled in a serious
 quarrel with the group.

423 *Tajio* is the best example of this peculiar institution because being
 613 in an out-of-the-way peninsula no one needs to go there except people
 621 who have a right there. Consequently the *Tajianwila* can exercise a much
 stricter supervision and hence as a matter of fact guard their rights more
 jealously than the people with such rights over districts that lie upon
 the main roads of the two islands. Nevertheless the whole of *Tiklaru*
 is divided into such districts and the whole of the *Tiklanila* into such *yirt'*
amini groups.

Thus bordering on the *Tajianwila* to the east, we find the *Arupula*
 who have similar hunting and food-collecting rights over *Arupi*, the coastal
 district in the middle of the south coast of Bathurst Island. The origin of
 their title is lost in obscurity inasmuch as nobody to-day knows who the
 ancestor was or exactly where is the grave that gave them such a right.
 Nor is the *Arupula* title respected as much as is the *Tajianwila* partly
 because *Arupi* is crossed by several "high-roads"—notably the only
 road to *Tajio* from the east, and the *Wraggwila* road to the Mission Station
 —but even more because the present representatives of the *Arupula* are
 either uninitiated youths or peaceful old men.

423 This introduces what is perhaps the main factor in the perpetuation
 628 of this institution—the power of the *yirt' amini* groups to enforce their
 613 rights. The ownership of a particular territory by a horde and the
 685 punishment of trespass upon it can always be enforced because there is
 always a certain number of fighting men in the horde. Hence horde-
 ownership is respected. In the *yirt' amini* group, however, periods fre-
 quently occur when the group is not strong enough to enforce its claims,
 and unless the claims are constantly brought under the notice of the rest
 of the horde they are ignored. The result is that unless the family gets
 a new lease of life by boys growing up into formidable warriors, such a

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period is the prelude to the complete lapsing of the title to the district. 423
 The prominent part played in this institution by the father's father and the 628
 fact that most of the present districts held on such a title are held from the 613
 father's father whereas comparatively few are held through an ancestor 685
 (necessarily more remote) who has been forgotten, seems to indicate
 that *yirt' amini* holdings do not last more than three generations before
 they lapse for want of sufficient able-bodied men to enforce them.

It must not be imagined that the whole of Melville and Bathurst 423
 Islands are divided into such holdings nor indeed that everyone in the tribe 613
 belongs to such a group. The main obstacle to this lies in the self- 621
 evident fact that if one's father's father dies in the territory of another
 horde, as must have quite frequently have happened in the days of
 marauding expeditions between hordes, there can be no such thing as a
yirt' amini holding of the district wherein he died. Moreover there are
 numbers of the Tiwi whose fathers and grandfathers died young, and the
 essence of the system is that the grandfather should have been old enough
 to have sufficient male children and grandchildren to enforce the claim.

It can easily be seen from the above how it comes about that each
 horde has a number of names, since each one of the *yirt' amini* group-names 621
 is liable to be applied to the whole horde merely by adding -ila or -ula to 101
 the name of the district they control.

Spencer's list of horde names is at variance with mine, because he 101
 did not realize this. Out of six men of the *Tiklanwila*, one might easily 114
 get six different answers to his question as to their "country," each 103
 giving the name of his *yirt' amini* group. It is quite possible that the 621
 horde names that are used here—*Tiklanwila*, *Munupula*, etc.—are really
yirt' amini names that have become extended to include a whole horde
 either by the identification of a very powerful *yirt' amini* group with a horde
 in the eyes of the rest of the tribe or by the former horde name becoming
 tabu and a *yirt' amini* name being substituted. This view is strengthened
 by the fact that in one or two of the hordes, the horde name is still in use
 as the name of a district. Thus whereas the whole of the territory of the
Wilraggwila on the north of Melville is technically *Wilraggn*, the native
 name for Karslake Island, a small portion of that territory, is *Wilraggn*.
 Similarly *Malan* is a creek in the territory of the *Malanila* horde.

A man is born into the horde of his father. Should his father die and 591
 his mother be taken by a member of another horde he goes with her, and 611
 WHILE THE WOMAN WILL ALWAYS BE LOOKED UPON 621
 AS BELONGING TO HER FORMER HORDE, THE CHILD [768]
 CHANGES HIS, TAKING THAT OF HIS STEPFATHER.

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which is interesting. It means the "Moon People" and is probably the name of the tribe displaced by the Purakapale people in the past. It is Arakitamun-uwí (plural), Arakitamun-ini (masculine), Arakitamun-inga (feminine). 101

Horde Places. Living in isolated groups, these people talk of horde places. A man from the south of Bathurst Island will tell you he is of the Tikaluwila people, in the horde place of Tikalaru, the country. Thus a man is a Tikaluwinala and a woman is a Tikiluwinila of the country of Tikalaru in the tribe of Worunguwi. (Hart writes Tiklaula). 621 361

As it is with this horde so it is with all the groups, three of which are on Bathurst Island; Tikalaru on the south of the Island, Arangu on the north, and Malo on the western shore of the Island. We are not sure of the Melville Island divisions but the following are fairly reliable: Mundiimpu, Anangatera, Yaimpi, being three hordes united as one horde on the southern shore; Turupu and Maruwu, two hordes living as one horde to the north-east of the Island; and Wilarunggu and Munaipu, two hordes living as one local group on the north-west of the Island. (This does not conflict with Hart's list.)

These hordes have indefinite tribal boundaries, yet it is considered a transgression to go too far into them for hunting purposes. One law relating to food gathering is, "He who burns the grass first is considered to own all the food that is caught on that burnt patch; he is a boss as it were and remains such until after the cold weather sets in and the dews bring on a new lot of grass." 423 224

Clans. Although the people are divided into numerous hordes they have only three clans (*aramipi*), but each of these clans has a number of sub-totems, *emuya*.^{*} 614 These may be survivals of weaker clans or possibly an example of classificatory totemism. Hart calls the *aramipi*, phratries. The totems are:

1. Main totem	..	..	..	<i>Kudjarli</i>	..	..	Fire
Sub-totems	..	..	..	<i>Yarinapila</i>	..	..	Red ochre
				<i>Igwati</i>	..	..	Honey nest
				<i>Pinkwarui</i>	..	..	Stingray
				<i>Ilitui</i>	..	..	Tree with red flower
				<i>Woriapila</i>	..	..	Sun
2. Main totem	..	..	..	<i>Tukambani</i>	..	..	Martin
Sub-totems	..	..	..	<i>Tapilapini</i>	..	..	March fly
				<i>Buygalawila</i>	..	..	Stone
				<i>Arigguwila</i>	..	..	Stone
3. Main totem	..	..	..	<i>Miatui</i>	..	..	Pandanus
Sub-totems	..	..	..	<i>Murukpungama</i>	..	..	Flying fox
				<i>Mudumbila</i>	..	..	Mullet
				<i>Mandupowi</i>	..	..	Fly
				<i>Andolui</i>	..	..	Spring
				<i>Tjilatí</i>	..	..	Jabaru.

* The same name as the gall-bladder and the pulse.